WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 231 ×523 11 May 1979

Save the Fedayeen!

Iranian Left Under the Gun

No to the Veil!

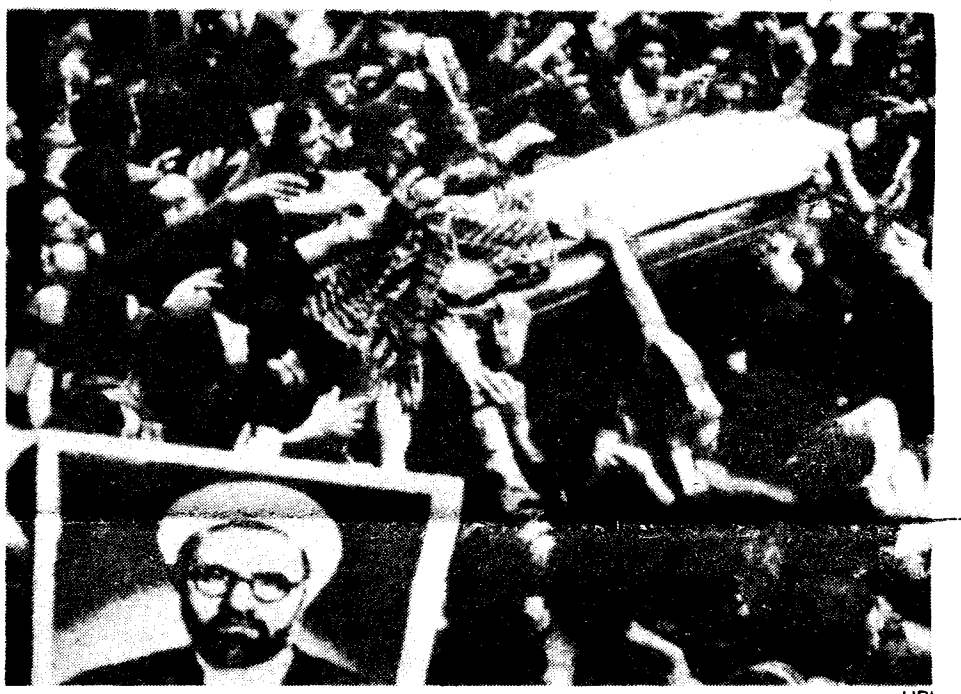
For Workers Revolution Against Islamic Reaction!

"Death to the communists!" "Death to the enemies of Islam!" These are the ominous battlecries echoing through the streets of Teheran. The clerical reactionaries who now rule Iran are orchestrating a redoubled offensive against the left with a series of massive demonstrations that howl for the blood of those branded "traitors to Islam." Simultaneously the Khomeini regime has granted virtually unrestricted powers to the Muslim paramilitary units taking shape which will spearhead the coming onslaught on the Iranian left and working class.

A major confrontation between the left and Islamic theocracy has been delayed only by the chaotic conditions produced by the rapid and complete disintegration of the shah's imperial state apparatus. The attempt to consolidate Khomeini's rule has also meant the execution of some of the most hated butchers of the shah's SAVAK and army—the one act of this dangerous regime which is worthy of applause. While the imperialists cry bitterly for their good friends who face the firing squads, proletarian revolutionaries are glad to see some of these sadistic torturers go. We know that it is the torture of mullahs and not the torture of leftists and working people that has been made a capital offense. We know well whose hands hold the rifles after the Islamic courts pronounce sentence, but we know too that nearly all of these butchers deserve to die. We would gladly extradite the shah himself to Teheran to face his victims—end the "vacation" of this mass murderer!

The creation of Khomeini's Islamic state requires this deep-going blood purge. For every general who falls at the wall an ex-imperial colonel takes his place. But it has taken time to discipline the irregular Muslim militiamen and salvage the needed military and police cadres from the wreckage of the shah's army and police forces.

It is not simply brutal military suppression which puts the Iranian left in peril but, as in Indonesia in 1965, the possibility of a combined assault by the regular army and a viciously anti-communist Muslim mass movement. Using the spectacular assassinations of government figures by the shadowy, self-proclaimed Islamic populists of the Forghan Fighters group, the Khomeini regime is succeeding in whipping up just such a rabid popular mobilization among its petty-bourgeois followers.



UPI

Anti-communist vengeance at assassinated mullah's funeral: "Kill, kill, kill."

In the wake of savage fighting between pro-government forces and Kurdish and Turkoman rebels the mullahs had singled out the Guevarist Fedayeen guerrillas for suppression because of their military aid to these embattled national minorities. After the arrest of 70 Fedayeen supporters in early April the next blow came when on April 20 a mob of 2,000 militiamen stormed the Fedayeen offices in the southwestern city of Abadan, center of the Iranian oil industry. The Muslim raiders confiscated a supply of arms and ammunition and arrested 41 Fedayeen.

Although Fedayeen spokesmen in Teheran attempted to deny that the

continued on page 10

Fatima Khalil Tour a Smashing Success

Fatima Khalil has just wound up her successful national speaking tour, sponsored by the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League, on the topic "No to the Veil! For Workers Revolution to Defeat Islamic Reaction." Drawing on her own experiences coming from a Muslim background, the young Near Eastern communist woman received significant press coverage with her vivid descriptions of the centuries-old oppression of women which the reactionary Khomeini regime seeks to enforce in Iran today. Speaking to over 1,000 people in ten cities coast-to-coast, Khalil argued powerfully on the need to smash the reactionary "Islamic Republic" through socialist revolution.

Khalil's tour stressed the urgent need to draw the lessons of Khomeini's orders to reimpose the veil, the massacre of Kurds, execution of homosexuals and round-up of Fedayeen militants under the new Islamic Republic. Those so-called "leftists" who uncritically hailed the ayatollahs stand today confused, deeply compromised and utterly bankrupt politically. In her concluding forum in New York City on May 5, Khalil set forth the urgent tasks facing revolutionaries in Iran today:

> "The struggle today...is to smash the Islamic government, and to base ourselves on the working class.... For that the task of revolutionaries is to fight to establish a revolutionary party.... The slogan of the workers and farmers government is the main slogan in Iran. It is necessary to break the masses from the ayatollahs, raising demands which will contradict with the mullahs' interests, which will show the masses the road forward. Demands like: expropriating the land, including the mullahs' own land! For a constituent assembly and self-determination! For full democratic rights!"

She also emphasized the need to mount a united-front defense of the left and all those democratic secular forces who are increasingly coming under attack from the mullahs.

Khalil's forums on the West Coast and in New York drew large audiences, as they did earlier in the Midwest: 70 in Los Angeles, 100 at Santa Cruz, 120 at San Francisco State University, 200 at the University of California at Berkeley, and 150 in New York City. While in the Bay Area she also received a

continued on page 6

SWP Distorts Lenin on Religion

1 May 1979

To the editor:

Through a dishonest manipulation of quotations, the *Militant* of 23 March attempts to exploit Lenin in the service of the Socialist Workers Party's revolting capitulation to Islamic reaction in Iran. An article misnamed "Lenin on Religion and Revolution" states:

> "Here, we are told by the bourgeois press (which is echoed by some groups on the left, such as the Spartacist League), a reactionary Islamic movement led the backward masses to overthrow the shah. The movement can only take Iran back to the eighth century.
> "But Lenin was aware that movements of the masses are sometimes reflected through religious figures. Particularly where the workers' leadership is weak, such figures can at times play a progressive role."

The SWP notwithstanding, it has by now become unambiguously clear that Ayatollah Khomeini's "Islamic Republic" means sending the imperial army built by the shah to savagely suppress national minorities rebelling against great Persian chauvinism, Islamic fanatics attacking women demonstrating for their rights and breaking up meetings of the left, the beating of anyone caught with alcohol on his breath, the stoning of "adulterers" and the mobilization of thousands of religious fanatics chanting "Death to the Communists!"

Attempting to equate Khomeini with Father Gapon, the Russian Orthodox priest placed at the head of the march on the tsar's palace which opened the 1905 Revolution, the *Militant* article amalgamates quotations taken out of context from two separate articles by Lenin (while giving the source for only one). The source cited, "Socialism and Religion," was written in December 1905 and did not mention Father Gapon; the direct references to him come from another article, "Revolutionary Days," written immediately after the "Bloody Sunday" massacre of the march led by Gapon on January 9 of that year. By this editorial sleight-of-hand, the SWP tries to create the false impression that Lenin's remarks on Gapon were representative of the Bolsheviks' general attitude toward religion. Yet this priest stood at the head of a workers demonstration protesting against the outrages of the medieval/feudalistic order which the church hierarchy (like Ayatollah Khomeini and the Shi'ite Muslim clergy in Iran) was committed to defend and *restore*. No less dishonest is the SWP's omission of the historical verdict pronounced upon Gapon as an agent of the tsarist secret police.

The *Militant* article quotes Lenin's call for the revolutionary workers to carry "the demands of honest and sincere members of the clergy to their conclusion, making them stick to their words about freedom, demanding that they should resolutely break all ties between religion and the police." But it omits the immediately following sentence which states that such sincere clergymen "must stand for the complete separation of Church and State...." Khomeini is not only flatly *opposed* to the separation of church and state, he is a fanatical advocate of their complete fusion, in a theocratic regime administered from the mosque. Khomeini went into opposition against the shah not over this butcher's terrorization of the workers and minorities—policies which the ayatollah is continuing in his own way—but against the monarchy's partial secularization of education, the courts and state.

Elsewhere in Lenin's writings on religion we find reference to just the kind of movement which Khomeini today represents. In "The Attitude of the Workers' Party to Religion" published in May 1909, Lenin draws a distinction between West Europe, where the task of combating the stranglehold of religion on the masses "was to a large extent performed (or tackled) by bourgeois democracy, in the epoch of *its* revolutions or its assaults upon feudalism and medievalism," and Russia, where "because of the conditions of our bourgeois-democratic revolution, this task falls almost entirely on the shoulders of the working class." Whereas in West Europe bourgeois anti-clericalism can serve to divert the working class from the struggle for socialism:

> "In Russia conditions are quite different. The proletariat is the leader of our bourgeois-democratic revolution. Its party must be the ideological leader in the struggle against all attributes of medievalism, including the old official religion and every attempt to refurbish it or make out a new or different case for it, etc."

If this was true for tsarist Russia, it is even more the case for Iran where the countryside is even more backward and where the attributes of medievalism loom even larger.

In a companion article published the following month, "Classes and Parties in their Attitude to Religion and the Church," Lenin discusses the role of the representatives of the Orthodox Church in the Duma:

> "The Church cannot forgive the state for secularising Church property. The Church demands a leading and dominant position....
> "These are not officials in cassocks, as the Social-Democrat Surkov called them, but *feudalists* in cassocks. Defense of the Church's feudal privileges, outspoken support of medievalism—that is the essence of the policy pursued by the majority of the Third Duma clergy." [emphasis in original]

Lenin points out that as long as the tsarist autocracy was intact, clerical reaction could be concealed from the masses. But the 1905 Revolution compelled the aristocracy to organize fascistic gangs, the Black Hundreds, and "it became necessary for 'the princes of the Church—the bishops' to organize the reactionary clergy into an independent force."

Like Tsar Nicholas II, the shah was forced to introduce certain token bourgeois reforms, such as secularizing certain church property, in 1963. Khomeini, like the Russian Orthodox bishops, could not forgive the shah this attack on feudal privilege, and it was over this issue that he mobilized the mass demonstrations that led to his exile. Khomeini and his fellow "princes of the mosque," the ayatollahs, are no Father Gapons. They are nothing but "*feudalists* in cassocks" who exploited the mass hatred of the shah to "organize the reactionary clergy into an independent force." Khomeini's "Islamic republic" has as its goal "defense of the Church's feudal privileges, outspoken support of medievalism." Lenin concludes this article by praising the Social-Democratic deputy Surkov, who:

> "...representing the workers' party and the working class, was the only person in the Duma to raise the debates to the truly high level of principle, and said without beating about the bush what the attitude of the proletariat is towards the Church and religion and what should be the attitude of all consistent and vigorous democrats. 'Religion is the opium of the people.... Not a farthing of the people's money to these murderous enemies of the people who are drugging the people's minds'—this straightforward, bold and outspoken battle cry of a socialist resounded like a challenge to the Black-Hundred Duma, and met with the response of millions of proletarians, who will spread it among the masses and who will know how to translate it into revolutionary action when the time comes."

We have consistently pointed out the numerous parallels between tsarist Russia and the shah's Iran, with the one unfortunate, major exception: in Iran there existed no revolutionary Marxist vanguard party that could give voice to the interests of the Iranian proletariat. But the international Spartacist tendency, which uniquely warned the Iranian masses and the world working class that Khomeini's "Islamic republic" would be no less reactionary than the bloody Pahlavi dynasty, has blazed the path for the construction of the Trotskyist party of the Iranian socialist revolution.

Comradely,
Reuben Samuels

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

EDITOR: Jan Norden

ASSOCIATE EDITOR: Charles Burroughs

PRODUCTION: Darlene Kamiura (Manager) Noah Wilner

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Karen Wyatt

EDITORIAL BOARD: Jon Brule, George Foster, Liz Gordon, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour, Marjorie Stamberg

Published biweekly, skipping an issue in August and a week in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 260 West Broadway, New York, NY 10013. Telephone: 966-6841 (Editorial), 925-5665 (Business).
Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, NY 10001. Domestic subscriptions: $3.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

No. 231 **11 May 1979**

On Mullahs

Columbus, Ohio

To the editor:

I guess you were right about the mullahs.

N.L.

Who Should Expropriate the Energy Trusts?

23 April 1979
Ryde, N.S.W., Australia

The editors:

While presenting an excellent critical polemic against the anti-nuclear/alternate energy life-stylists and the opportunist "Trotskyist" tailists, the *WV* article "No-Nuke Syndrome" (*WV* 13/4/79) contains two particularly misleading turns of phrase.

Attacking the hypocrisy of the anti-nuclear movement you state, "Life will be better for the entire working class when there is as much worry about black lung as there is concern now for meltdown." While not imagining that the SL would seek to promote such social-democratic illusions, it is not at all unlikely that in a milieu where faith in Democratic Party politicians such as Jerry Brown and Bella Abzug (and how many others) is rampant this could easily be construed as a call for a "socially responsible capitalist government/bourgeoisie," à la CP/SWP. No capitalist, no matter what his moral convictions, can circumvent the need to exploit the proletariat because this is his function.

Second, a call is made for the expropriation of the "greedy energy trusts without compensation." Having come to an incorrect conclusion of support for a socially concerned bourgeoisie, then perhaps socially concerned and non-exploitative energy trusts should be exempted! They all are imbued with greed for profit (as the SL points out earlier). And who should expropriate them... the bourgeois government? Perhaps a little "community control," of course not. Such expropriations can be carried out only when the proletariat led by its Trotskyist vanguard breaks with the Democrats and, vanquishing the U.S. bourgeoisie, establishes in its place a workers government. It must be pointed out these omissions are obvious only in a journal like *WV*, where this need is continually expressed! It would never have been noticed in the sordid perversion of Trotskyism promoted in the *Militant*.

In conclusion I might add that the article "Why They Supported Islamic Reaction" (same issue) provides a brilliant Leninist debunking of reformist and centrist confusionism on support for clerical reactionaries in Iran. Your opponents are exposed mercilessly as theoretical bankrupts.

Comradely,
J.P.E.

* * * * *

WV replies: Reader J.P.E. is correct in assuming that we did not mean to imply that there could be a "socially concerned" capitalist order, and that we *were* saying that all capitalist enterprises are driven by profit hunger. On the question of who should expropriate the energy trusts, this demand is part of our overall transitional program for breaking the class dictatorship of the bourgeoisie through workers revolution. At the same time we (and the Trotskyist movement historically) defend partial nationalizations by the capitalist state of particularly hated monopolies and exploiters (e.g., the properties of the shah and his henchmen in Iran today). We call on the class-conscious workers to take the lead in mobilizing support for such demands, while opposing any compensation to the former owners. However, where such nationalizations have taken place (for instance, Cárdenas' expropriation of Mexican oil, Nasser's seizure of the Suez Canal, the nationalization of the Nazi collaborator Renault in post-World War II Gaullist France) obviously certain petty-bourgeois and even bourgeois forces have also found these measures in their interests.

Union-Bashing Tories Take British Elections

Labour's Betrayals Put Thatcher In

LONDON—The stock exchange index shot up and the Tory gutter press headlines screamed with delight as Margaret Thatcher's union-bashing Conservative Party won the May 3 British election with an overall majority of 43 seats. Thus Britain now has its most right-wing government since at least World War II, a Tory regime which will attempt to revive the sick capitalist economy by unleashing a violent onslaught against the powerful trade-union movement. What Labour tried and ultimately failed to do through deals with the union bureaucrats Thatcher now threatens to do through open confrontation. Following in the footsteps of her reactionary sisters Bandaranaike, Indira Gandhi and Golda Meir, *Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher will be the Fourth Horselady of the Apocalypse.*

Labour managed to hold most of its traditional working-class support in Scotland and the industrial North of England. But it lost thousands of votes throughout the South and Midlands and received its lowest overall percentage total since the 1931 elections debacle. Thatcher's victory was the fruit of five years of Labour betrayal which saw massive government attacks on the jobs and living standards of British workers combined with open strike-breaking by the police and army. No wonder the working class—whose pay packets seem to get thinner while the dole queues [unemployment lines] get longer every week—was less than enthusiastic about the prospect of another five years of such Labour government.

The government's failure to stem the massive strike wave which destroyed Phase Four of Callaghan's wage control last winter convinced the bourgeoisie that Labour was a spent force, no longer able to keep the unions in line for its capitalist paymasters. Thus, after having supported the government for years, business interests rallied solidly behind Thatcher in the months leading up to the election. The authoritative bourgeois *Economist* noted that Callaghan stood on a fine "platform of middle-ground conservatism" while Thatcher was too dangerously radical and confrontationist. Nevertheless it, too, came out for a Conservative vote as the best chance under the circumstances for reviving the sick British economy on the backs of the working class.

Press Association

Margaret Thatcher: The fourth horselady of the apocolypse.

The "Iron Lady" in Power

But can Thatcher succeed? Callaghan and Harold Wilson's Labour administration couldn't; nor could Edward Heath, the Tory prime minister who was brought down by the miners strike of winter 1973-1974. The "Iron Lady" Thatcher, who replaced Heath as Tory leader three years ago, makes her predecessor seem a reasonable moderate by comparison. Moreover, her personal popularity with the electorate has always been much lower than Callaghan's, and her relative inexperience and strident right-wing politics worry even many staunch Tory supporters.

During the election Thatcher presented herself as the champion of radical change in contrast to Labour's "don't rock the boat" approach. Her radicalism is that of an extreme reactionary who wants to roll Britain back to its days of pre-World War II grandeur when "free enterprise" allegedly governed all, and public spending on such things as education and social security was kept to a minimum. One of her chief economic advisors, Sir Keith Joseph, is an advocate of the monetaristic economic theories of Milton Friedman, whose other notable clients include Israel's Menachem Begin and General Pinochet of Chile.

The Tory manifesto laid out many areas which it considered were in need of radical change. Top of the list were the unions, whose power was to be checked through legislation aimed at undermining the closed shop, outlawing secondary picketing and halting payments of social security benefits to strikers' families. Tighter immigration laws and a register for immigrants came next, along with an increase in defence spending and a beefed-up role for Britain in NATO as part of an aggressively anti-Soviet foreign policy. The police would be strengthened under the rubric of law and order and Thatcher declared that she "personally" supported the return of capital punishment. After the substantial cuts in government spending, rigid control of the money supply and cuts in direct taxation, the Tories' policies would lead to a drastic slashing of real wages, increased unemployment (especially for government employees) and no-strike laws aimed against "essential service" workers.

No Votes for the Labour Traitors

Life under the Tories does not promise to be nice for British workers. But then neither was life under Labour. Every one of Thatcher's anti-working-class proposals is but an extension of the policies of the treacherous Callaghan government. Yet during the election campaign the trade-union bureaucrats, right and "left" alike, joined dutifully by virtually every pseudo-revolutionary organisation in the country, were declaiming loudly on the alleged qualitative superiority of Callaghan's programme to Thatcher's.

Fake-Trotskyists, like the Socialist Workers Party of Tony Cliff, who had been screaming for years about the betrayals of Labour wage controls and strikebreaking, suddenly discovered that Callaghan was a "lesser evil" and clamoured loudly for his return to Westminster. The Pabloist International Marxist Group and sundry smaller fake-Trotskyist grouplets joined in the "vote Labour" chorus, each with its own pet gimmicks and excuses. In contrast the Spartacist League/Britain (SL/B) emphatically insisted that the workers had no interest in returning the Labour strikebreakers for another five years of anti-working-class attacks.

Applying the Leninist tactic of critical support to bourgeois workers parties, in the 1974 elections the Spartacist tendency called for critical support for Labour candidates in order to draw the class line against the bourgeoisie and expose the social democrats before the masses by putting them in power. But to call for votes to Labour at this time when it has thoroughly demonstrated its treachery and is running on its anti-working-class record and programme is to junk Leninist tactics designed to win militant workers away from social democracy in favour of unconditional support for the reformist betrayers.

In opposition to the pro-Callaghan electoral machines, both official and pseudo-revolutionary, the SL/B said in its leaflets and interventions throughout the election campaign: "No vote to the Labour traitors any more than to the Tories." When sections of militant trade unionists, like the Dunlop Tyre workers at Speke near Liverpool and various regions of the National Union of Public Employees, began calling for abstention in the elections because of Labour's unmitigated treachery, the SL/B raised the call for trade-union candidates to be run *against* Labour on a full class-struggle programme.

In addition we warned that regardless of who won the election, the working class had to prepare for the inevitable attacks which face it. With the election now over, the new government will quickly buckle down to its primary task of restoring capitalist profitability. The first targets may well be those public sector workers—teachers, postmen and the strategically crucial power workers—who still have large pay claims outstanding.

Major union-government confrontations along the line of the miners strike five winters ago are a near certainty at some point in the life of this Tory government. Conscious of Heath's spectacular failure then, the current Tory government is determined not to botch it again. And when the Tory attacks do come, the bureaucratic union misleaders are certain to behave as in 1973-74: first look for ways out and when that fails display a bit of economic muscle while leaving the "political" work to the Labour top brass. However much this may be dressed up with left-wing rhetoric about fighting the bosses, the last five years have shown that when Labour gets into power it proceeds to attack the working class with no less venom than the Tories.

This cycle of Tory government attacks, left-sounding Labour opposition followed by Labour government attacks can ultimately only wear down and demoralise the working class. What is acutely needed to break out of this pattern is a genuinely revolutionary leadership of the labour movement—one whose fight is to ensure that the workers themselves rule in Britain. ■

British Cops Kill Anti-Nazi Militant

LONDON—As Margaret Thatcher was swept into office in a campaign for stopping Asian immigration and bashing the unions, the outright fascists sought to cash in on the right-wing mood. The National Front (NF) fielded 300 candidates for the May 3 elections, and as the state-owned television and radio stations obligingly provided the NF with free broadcast time, the police unleashed a wave of violence against anti-fascist demonstrators at NF meetings and rallies throughout the country. Determined to protect "free speech" for these merchants of hate, the cops arrested many hundreds of immigrant and leftist protesters, injuring scores and killing one demonstrator outside an NF meeting in the largely immigrant West London suburb of Southall.

Communists recognise that the NF is not primarily a legalistic electoral party to be stopped at the ballot box but a militarist outfit which seeks to grow through racist and anti-working-class terror and which must be physically smashed by the workers movement. In contrast, the popular-frontist Anti Nazi League (ANL) and its chief backers, the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), had nothing to offer during the election period but a series of "peaceful" anti-NF protests and calls for a government ban on their activities. But the anger felt by many young ANL supporters, other leftists and especially black and Asian immigrants at the NF's brazen provocations was not to be contained by this legalism, and several militant demonstrations aimed at denying fascists a platform resulted.

The high point came when thousands of local Asian residents responded to a provocative fascist meeting in the center of the immigrant district of Southall, West London, on April 23 by shutting down their shops and walking out of the factories. Over 5,000 people, mainly immigrants, gathered in a protest demonstration outside the fascists' scheduled meeting place. There they were confronted by an equal number of riot police with a full range of "crowd

continued on page 9

NYC's Almost May Day

Not for many years has New York City witnessed thousands of union workers marching in the streets on May Day. But on this May 1, the blocks around City Hall were filled with 4,000 to 5,000 members of District Council 37 (DC 37) of AFSCME (government employees) and other NYC unions protesting union-busting mayor Ed Koch's intention to shut down half the city's public hospitals. The first union May Day rally in decades was largely ignored by the city's capitalist press—the *Times* merely used it as a backdrop to elicit statements praising "American democracy" from several recently released Soviet dissidents who were coincidentally visiting City Hall. More importantly, however, in the midst of a wave of strikes among isolated sectors of the NYC labor force (milk drivers, school bus drivers, tugboat workers, building service employees), where a united demonstration of labor's muscle could powerfully aid the strikers, NYC labor leaders simply turned their backs on this tremendous opportunity to link up with the AFSCME protest for a *fighting May Day to stop Koch's union-busting.*

Members of Local 420 of DC 37 poured into the demonstration from hospitals all over the city and were joined by hospital workers from the Social Service Employees Union and members of other sympathizing unions and community organizations, including the Brooklyn-based Black United Front of Rev. Herbert Daughtry. The demonstrators carried signs reading "Koch's Kuts Kill!" and "Save Our Hospitals, Save Our Jobs." At stake for the marchers were not only thousands of jobs but the health of New York City's poor and working people, most of them black and Hispanic, whose only source of hospital care is the municipal system threatened by the cutbacks.

As the post-march rally began, DC 37 leader Victor Gotbaum, looking stooped and haggard from years of bowing to the city bosses, was booed off the podium by angry unionists and black protesters. Loud applause greeted the demagogic black preacher Daughtry, who urged the audience: "Let's march, let's rally, let's scream, let's vote"...for black Democratic politicians. Right in line to pitch for those votes were Brooklyn assemblyman Al Vann and Harlem congressman Charles Rangel who, offering his Capitol Hill porkbarreling expertise, promised that, "If Congress has anything to do about it, that [city hospital] system will not be closed."

With a large banner prominently displayed near the speakers' platform the Spartacist League contingent counterposed to the labor traitors and capitalist politicians the slogans "Stop Koch's Union-Busting! Break With the Democrats—Dump the Bureaucrats! Build a Workers Party!" SL members and trade-union supporters carried signs reading "For Militant Strikes to Stop the Hospital Closings!" "Victory to the Tugboat, Building and Schoolbus Strikes!" and "Cops and Prison Guards Out of the Unions!"

WV Photo

Spartacist contingent at NYC May Day rally.

During the year and a half of his administration, Koch has targeted virtually every sector of the city's workers, as well as racial minorities and the poor. In the last issue of *WV* we called for such a rally of the thousands of striking school bus drivers, tugboat workers, milk deliverers and building workers against the scabherding Cossack tactics of the labor-hating mayor. Unfortunately the striking unionists were not mobilized by their bureaucratic leaders to attend, and the chance for a militant solidarity demonstration led by thousands of angry strikers was frittered away in a lackluster rally by a gang of social-democratic municipal union hacks and their Democratic Party "allies."■

Coast Guard Shafts NY Tug Strike

New York City has been rocked in recent weeks by a number of local unions challenging the federal government's wage guidelines and the union-busting policies of NYC mayor Koch. The *Journal of Commerce* of 27 April railed that "strikes have approached epidemic proportions" here as striking dairy workers and school bus drivers were joined by building maintenance workers and tugboatmen. While the first three contract disputes have now been settled, the tugboatmen are still out and threatened by Koch's repeated attempts to mobilize the U.S. Coast Guard to break the strike.

Local 333 United Marine Division, an affiliate of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) representing 2,800 tugboatmen and bargemen, mainly in New York harbor, typifies the defiant mood of many of the striking workers. Outraged at Carter's ceiling of 7 percent for wage increases while corporations boasted a 37 percent increase in profits for the first quarter in 1979, the boatmen have vowed to bust the wage guidelines. And they can do it. Local 333, striking six times in the last 26 years, has a history of militancy. In 1970 they hit the bricks for 60 days and won a 40 percent wage boost and 17 percent increase in benefits over a three-year contract.

On April 1 an overflow crowd of 2,500 tugboatmen packed into the Grand Ballroom of the Waldorf Astoria Hotel and voted unanimously to strike. Aside from wages, the other key issue being fought by the boatowners is union jurisdiction. Recently there have been increased incursions into New York harbor and on coastwise trade by non-union boats from the South, derisively called "rebel boats" by the strikers. These "rebel boats," some chartered or owned by southern affiliates of Local 333-contract companies, could steal the burgeoning coal trade out of Hampton Roads, Virginia or even break the backbone of the union by invading New York harbor. Both sides are well aware of the consequences, and that is why Local 333 is demanding that a "past practices" clause be written into the agreement, spelling out the historical jurisdiction of the union.

Into the conflict jumped New York's mayor Koch, the Greenwich Village liberal of the sixties become "law-and-order" labor-hater of the seventies. After injunctions in New Jersey and Nassau County were successful in forcing the union leadership to order crewmen to move sewerage barges, Koch began crying "health hazard," as idled garbage scows forced the Sanitation Department to haul refuse to dumps by truck, costing the city a million dollars in overtime so far. One week after calling out NYC mounted police to smash a milk drivers picket line in Brooklyn, Koch slammed an injunction on the striking tugboatmen ordering them to tow the garbage. "Captain" O'Hare, Local 333 president, was ready to comply once again. But strike militants got the word out, "No one works the garbage!" The handful of weak-kneed crew members who showed up at the Moran boatyard on Staten Island were easily persuaded to leave. After one week, citing a legal technicality, the injunction was rescinded. In fact it was a series of militant actions during the third week of the strike, including defiance of the injunction, that forced the government to temporarily back down.

WV Photo

Coast Guard hauls garbage in NYC: the bosses state does its strikebreaking job.

Then on May 5 Koch teamed up with the Carter administration in another strikebreaking gambit. U.S. Secretary of Transportation Brock Adams directed the Coast Guard to assist the city in hauling garbage immobilized by the strike "in light of the health emergency declared by the Mayor." By May 7 Coast Guard vessels—escorted by police boats and helicopters—were towing the garbage, union officials having acceded to Carter's strike-busting order.

The New York big business press has predictably blamed the tugboatmen for using violence to "extort" wage increases from the bosses. But the truth came from the strikers themselves. According to a number of tugboatmen doing picket duty on the Staten Island union boat, rifles were conspicuously displayed in the wheelhouses of some scab boats operating in the New York waterways. During the first week of the strike in Hempstead Harbor four scabs, carrying shotguns and taunting strikers, walked through a picket line. Certainly the most provocative action by the employers occurred Sunday, April 29 when a scab tug, the *Robin 10*, made its way into NY harbor towing an unloaded cement barge. Heading past the Statue of Liberty up the Hudson River to Albany, the Atlantic Cement barge had two armed guards, one on the bow and one on the stern, a helicopter on the deck and two police launches alongside as escorts. When the scab tow reached the dock it was greeted by a mass picket of 300 angry strikers. Although the cement workers of the plant honored the picket line, strikebreaking supervisors, hitting one picket and sending him to the hospital, plowed through the line to load the barge.

The strikers have not taken the employers' provocations sitting down. Skilled in marine transportation and communications, these boatmen have been able to pinpoint scab tugs, monitor their operations and dispatch picket boats to the scene quickly. In one incident a scab tug, the *V.L. Keegan*, was spotted in the harbor on the night of April 24. The union picket boat reportedly arrived alongside the scab tug and it was boarded by a dozen strikers. After getting a brief lesson in trade unionism, the captain headed his scab tug into berth.

For a Class-Struggle Strike Strategy

The courageous determination of the striking boatmen has time and again run up against the O'Hare leadership, which not only has repeatedly sought to

continued on page 10

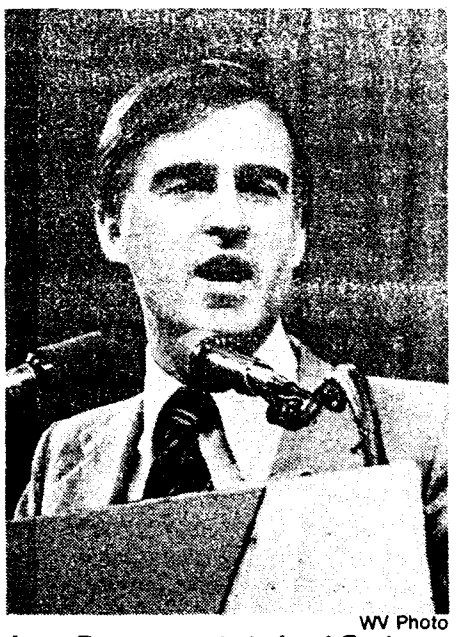
No-Nuke Flukes Flood Washington

They came from all over the country to take part in the giant anti-nuclear be-in held in Washington, D.C. on May 6. Tens of thousands streamed into the city by bus and by van and by car (all the while denouncing pollution). Bedecked in their bells and their beads and their flowers, they assembled once more beneath the Washington Monument. The offical crowd count was 65,000, but most unofficial observers doubled the number; in any case it was the biggest demonstration since the Vietnam War. As the 7 May *New York Times* described it:

> "While some of the talk was filled with anger, the demonstrators were for the most part smiling and amiable. They gave the appearance of being graduates of an earlier era returning for a 10-year reunion."

But if it was a "ten-year reunion," what got together in Washington was the old "Clean for Gene" crowd, mobilizing for liberalism and the "greening" of America. From the numerous American flags along the line of march to the endless demands to "Make Our Country Safe," the entire affair oozed with patriotism. And while most of the left tagged along, from start to finish it was a rally for know-nothing populism within the framework of the Democratic Party.

The scene was like something out of "Hair": in a crowd of largely college-age youth, the tone was predominantly that of a counterculture happening. Thousands of hippies crawled out of the woodwork to wave balloons and languish in the tulips in front of the Monument mall. They brandished skulls, crossbones and other ghoulish paraphernalia on sticks, chanting "Hell No, We Won't Glow" and "Two-Four-Six-Eight, We Don't Want to Radiate." They dressed up like mushroom'clouds and they hung "children of holocaust" dummies depicting two-headed children, one-eyed creatures and the like on traffic lights and trees. In addition to the clams and shads there were the "Flukes Against Nukes" people who spent the



WV Photo

Jerry Brown wants to beat Carter as a born-again faddist.

day carting around a 40-foot fish blimp.

Assorted "socialists," with their warmed-over pacifist slogans protesting the proliferation of nuclear weapons ("East and West," of course) attempted to give a left cover to the march. But such sentiment was isolated and insignificant. The vast majority of the crowd opposed all nuclear power, while others wanted to ban all energy production more advanced than rubbing two sticks together. One banner proclaimed "Less Electricity," while another waved around an effigy of the demon electricity in the form of General Electric's cartoon figure, "Reddi KiloWatt."

There were almost no black people there except for Dick Gregory who vowed to fast until there were no more

WV Photo

No nukes: A movement of middle class despair, New Left nostalgia and reactionary irrationalism. Socialists want more not less electricity.

nukes. And save for the endorsement of the Reutherite IAM president William Winpisinger and supporters of left organizations, there were virtually no workers. One incident at the rally outside the White House poignantly demonstrated this. Just as the crowd was preparing to march to the Capitol, an enormous "Labor Unions" banner was brought forward and a voice from the podium called, "Is there anybody here from a labor union to help us carry this?" The request was repeated several times, but no unionists were seen stepping forward.

The absence of trade unionists or blacks at this biggest no-nuke demonstration ever was not just a failure of organizing. Working people in this country, who have to struggle to make ends meet, have a gut-level sense of economic reality. And they cannot be mobilized behind a movement based on reactionary-utopian "back to nature" nostrums, behind the banner of "the less, the better."

"Above Bourgeois Politics"?

Called by the May 6th Coalition, the demonstration was endorsed by a slew of groups and individuals running the gamut from Democratic Party officials, consumer groups, academics, women's groups, foundations, movie stars, scientists, muckrakers and so on. But the big attractions of the day were the speeches from the steps of the Capitol by movie star Jane Fonda and California governor Jerry Brown.

Radiant in a strapless top and flanked by her husband Tom (to whom nobody paid very much attention) Fonda thrilled the crowd with references to her recent movie, *The China Syndrome*, lashed out against the utility executives and called on Jimmy Carter to remove Energy Secretary James Schlesinger. "Putting Schlesinger in charge of our solar program," she said, "is like putting Dracula in charge of a bloodbank."

Declaring that the dangers of nuclear power were larger than "any political personality, any political party," Governor Brown made what amounted to a campaign speech for the 1980 Democratic presidential nomination. And just as in the past he tried to rope in the conservative homeowner and small businessmen's votes by becoming the foremost proponent of the Prop 13/real estate tax cut movement, in Washington the "liberal" Brown made an unmistakable bid for an alliance with the anti-abortion forces. Calling for a "politics of the unborn...a politics of the future," he ended his speech by exhorting the crowd to "Join Life! Join the Moratorium!" Mystically rambling about "respecting the breezes, the trees," this former Jesuit demonstrated his messianic conviction that he has been anointed to save America through building a new populist movement linking ex-liberals to the reactionary right and built around his own personality cult.

Brown's talk about nuclear power being "larger than parties or politicians" was laughable. The Clamshell Alliance's Sam Lovejoy implored the crowd to "remember there's a presidential election next year...there's no way they can avoid the issue." Ralph Nader was cheered when he shouted "Jimmy Carter has deceived us!" Fonda's husband said "Carter has lost his honesty," while a message from Teddy Kennedy was read to the crowd. And while Carter declined *his* invitation to speak at the rally he told the press the next day he thought it was a "legitimate" demonstration and sought to appease anti-nukers by announcing he was backing away from his hard pro-nuclear position.

WV Photo

Marjorie Stamberg on PBS TV: "They want to turn back the clock."

Oppressed At Last

The theme that nuclear power is "America's Vietnam" ran as a common thread throughout the demonstration, from the clamshells to the muckraking liberal journalists, to the Democratic Party politicians. "It's just like the antiwar movement," said Lovejoy. We have "to start the movement again," echoed George Wald, the Nobel Prize-winning biologist and former Vietnam War activist. At a May 5 NYC anti-nuke teach-in sponsored by the *Village Voice*, the crowd tittered when Ralph Nader said that Carter and the energy trusts might want to cut back their nuclear energy projections a bit but were worried about a "domino effect." "It's our technological Vietnam," Nader replied.

Ten years away from their idealistic student days, the old antiwar protesters motivated by liberal guilt have been yearning for a cause. Now they welcome the anti-nuke movement with open arms and discover that at long last they have a red, white and blue "oppression" of their own. (Jane Fonda, who is perpetually discovering new oppressed groups, once told a crowd that she had finally discovered what it meant to be oppressed as a movie actress.) But if the politics of the radical anti-Vietnam War activists were deformed by their pacifist illusions, by their tailing after the Democratic Party doves, etc., at least they wanted the U.S. to get out of Vietnam. Communists could march in the streets with them. In contrast, the program of the no-nuke crusade is downright perverted, conservative to the core and ultimately calling for a return to pre-industrial society.

Moreover, it is an astounding piece of imperialist hypocrisy for these representatives of comfortable, white middle-class America to compare their situation to the Vietnamese. It's like Jane Fonda's film *Coming Home*, in which the Vietnam War was seen as harmful because it screwed up and maimed "our boys." What about the more than one million Vietnamese who died on the battlefields, in napalm graves, from vitamin deficiencies due to living in underground tunnels, from eating crops poisoned by defoliants? It is a sign of the times that in post-Watergate America and under Jimmy Carter's "human rights" imperialist moral rearmament campaign people can seriously claim that Harrisburg is "our Vietnam."

Spartacist League Statement

The May 6 demonstration was covered live coast-to-coast on Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) television. As part of its coverage, PBS carried an excerpt from a statement on nuclear power by SL spokesman Marjorie Stamberg, former Spartacist Party candidate for State Assembly in New York. The full text of Stamberg's statement, as taped for broadcast, is reprinted below:

PBS: Marjorie, do you oppose or favor nuclear power?

Stamberg: The anti-nuclear protesters want to pull the plug on atomic power. We think that nuclear power is unsafe. Anybody knows that nuclear power is unsafe except types like the neanderthals at the *National Review*. But any type of energy production under the capitalist system is going to be unsafe. For instance, does anybody think it's safe to go to work in a coal mine? Every time you turn on your light switch you're going to give some miner black lung disease.

The point about this is that we refuse to take responsibility for the way the capitalists allocate their energy resources. Because we know that whatever system they're going to go for, whether it's oil, whether it's coal, whether it's nuclear power, they're going to find a way to get a lot of people hurt and a way to get a lot of people dead. And that's because the system fundamentally is not concerned with finding ways to minimize accidents, with finding ways to

continued on page 10

Khalil Tour Success...

(continued from page 1)

full-page feature in the 1 May *San Francisco Chronicle*.

The most vehement reaction to comrade Khalil's tour came from Iranian Khomeini supporters in the U.S., who have been driven into a frenzy by her exposure of the reactionary nature of mullah rule. Despite the attempts of Muslim fanatics to disrupt the tour (including cowardly anonymous telephone death threats in Los Angeles), Khalil's forums were all successfully carried through. This was due in large part to the brothers and sisters from over 25 different trade unions who turned out across the country to defend workers democracy.

At her presentation at San Francisco State University on May 2, some 50 Khomeini supporters—deterred from open attack by the presence of burly trade unionists—scurried out of the forum quietly, only to return near the end of the discussion period with a university dean and several plainclothes cops, slanderously charging that the union defense guards had firearms. Their courage bolstered by the cops' presence, several of the Khomeinites then spoke, merely reiterating the stale claim that the Koran doesn't discriminate against women. When the meeting adjourned the defense guards interposed themselves between Kahlil and the shouting Islamic fanatics, while other guards ejected a particularly obnoxious and hysterical Iranian reactionary. In a graphic example of their "Islamic democracy," the Khomeini disciples then bolted, literally dragging out with them several of their entourage who wanted to stay and continue discussions with the SL. One of these unlucky Iranians, his eyes filled with tears as he was hauled away, exclaimed, "It's true! There is no democracy in Iran today!"

Comrade Khalil's forums exposed the reactionary *political* implications of religion, a rather unfamiliar theme for American leftists, who are more accustomed to see racism and nationalism as the predominant reactionary ideologies. At the forum in Santa Cruz, California, a Spartacist spokesman underlined this key Marxist distinction:

> "This comrade is from the Muslim East and she's speaking in a country in which the Catholics, Protestants and Jews all hate Muslims and are therefore anxious to score on the Muslims.... Catholics, Protestants and Jews, in their religious aspects, have a lot on their plate. Do not throw stones at the Muslim religion because it is Muslim, but because *all* religions necessarily have each idiosyncratically deeply reactionary sides. And you have to know only a little of the history of South Asia to throw in the Hindus and the Buddhists too...."

Islam is not unique in its denigration of women. The difference between the role of religion in Khomeini's Iran and its reactionary ideological function in the advanced capitalist societies of the West is the *bourgeois revolution* which established secularized states. In Khomeini's Iran, the anti-woman precepts of the Koran automatically acquire the force of laws.

In New York City Khalil was invited to give a brief presentation at a talk by American feminist Kate Millett, who recently had a first-hand taste of Khomeini's reaction when she was expelled from Iran after participating in the mass demonstration protesting the veil on International Women's Day. Although shaken by her experience, as a feminist Millett's limp conclusion was that only women can liberate themselves. In contrast, Khalil insisted that "the fight is not man against woman, and the question is not to tail some other mullahs or bourgeois nationalists. What is needed is a revolutionary party which can change the social order." Following a lengthy debate between some of the more vehemently anti-communist feminists in the audience and Spartacist League supporters, Khalil succinctly summed up the nature of the petty-bourgeois audience's attitude:

> "What I see here tonight is guiltism—'We should let those women decide what they have to do.' But the point is *how* these women will be liberated...the question is to smash the Islamic Republic, to fight for a workers government which will bring democracy and liberate the women."

Comrade Khalil's intensive (and exhausting) three-week tour has been an important part of the international Spartacist tendency's campaign to bring home the lessons of the bloody Iranian events to the left, to the campuses and to the working class, as we struggle to crystallize a revolutionary cadre which can lead the Iranian masses to victory through socialist revolution. It was particularly gratifying that a number of the trade unionists who had come initially simply to defend her right to speak found themselves drawn closer politically to the Spartacist League through her forums and the experience of defending them. ■

Fatima Khalil Tour Spreads Truth on Iran

WV Photos

Clockwise from above: With feminist Kate Millet (sitting) May 4. Right: Trade unionists defend Khalil forums in S.F. May 2 and NYC (bottom), May 5.

Thanks to Our Trade Union Brothers and Sisters

The Spartacist League thanks all those who volunteered their time to defend Fatima Khalil's speaking tour and to uphold the principle of workers democracy, including particularly the more than 100 trade union brothers and sisters from the following 25 unions across the country (partial listing):

American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees
Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks
Canadian International Association of Firefighters
Chicago Transit Union
Communication Workers of America
Graphic Arts International Union
Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union
International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers
International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers
International Brotherhood of Teamsters
International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union
International Typographical Union
Letter Carriers Union of Canada
Local 333, United Marine Division—ILA (currently on strike in New York)
National Association of Letter Carriers
National Maritime Union
Retail Clerks International Association
Service Employees International Union
Sheet Metal Workers International Association
Stationary Engineers
United Auto Workers
United Steelworkers of America
United Transportation Union

The Press Covers Khalil Tour

Qaddaffi, Billy Carter, Healy, Idi Amin

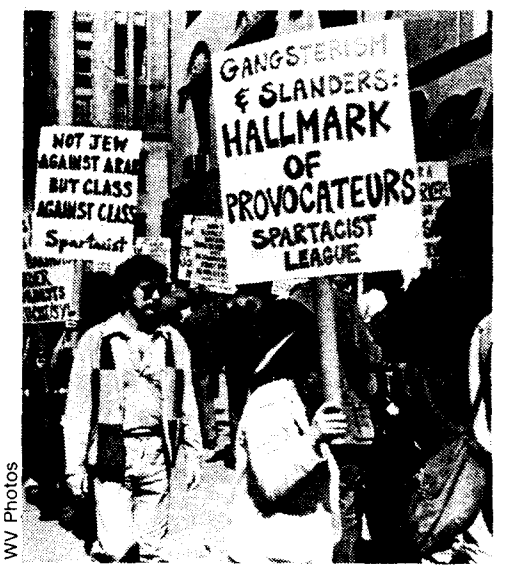
Who's Behind WL Provocations Against Spartacist?

"Q: What Do Idi Amin, Billy Carter and Gerry Healy Have in Common?
"A: The Qaddafi Connection!"

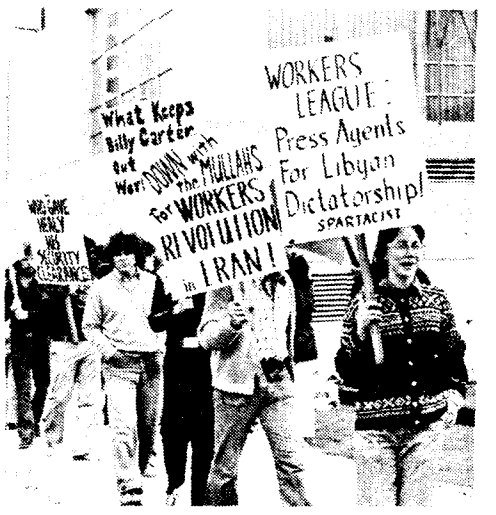
On May 6 trade unionists and supporters of the Spartacist League demonstrated at the Hotel Taft in New York City and the Alameda County Labor Temple in Oakland, California against new provocations against workers democracy by the notorious Workers League (WL), American cohorts of the British-based "International Committee" (IC) of Gerry Healy/Mike Banda. Once a claimant to the mantle of "anti-revisionist Trotskyism," the Healyite WL/IC has in recent years placed itself in the service of Muammar Qaddafi, megalomaniacal strongman of Libya, utilizing on behalf of its patron the characteristic "method" of the Healyite political bandits—gangsterism and slander.

Demanding "Defend Workers Democracy Against WL Provocation!" the militant demonstrators outside the WL's May 6 meetings (called ostensibly in celebration of May Day) were replying to a pathological smear article in the WL's yellow-journalism *Bulletin* (1 May) entitled "The Spartacist League: Provocateurs Against Trotskyism and the Iranian Revolution." This 12-column tirade was the Healyites' frenzied reaction to the SL's exposure of the WL/IC's press agentry on behalf of its oil-rich Libyan patron.

Last issue, *WV* had excoriated Healy/Banda for their efforts to justify the bloody suppression of the Iraqi Communist Party at the hands of the Qaddafi-allied bourgeois-nationalist Ba'ath regime (see "Healyites: Kill a Commie for Qaddafi," *WV* No. 230, 27 April). Also goading the Healyites to new paroxysms of slander was the SL's political offensive against Qaddafi's pal Ayatollah Khomeini of Iran, highlighted by the widely publicized tour by Fatima Khalil, the Near Eastern communist who spoke in eight cities on "No to the Veil! For Workers Revolution Against Islamic Reaction!"



WV Photos



Protests in S.F. and NYC against WL provocations. Above, left: WL's Bulletin, May 1.

Hoping to egg on the Muslim fundamentalists who have mounted physical assaults on Spartacist forums several times over the past few months, the *Bulletin* takes the SL's Trotskyist line on Iran as the excuse for a new orgy of cop-baiting slander:

> "[The Iranian revolution] has earned the hatred of the CIA, the U.S. corporations, the military and the entire Carter administration. Nowhere is this hatred expressed more viciously however, than in the pages of the revisionist press—*The Militant*, published by the Socialist Workers Party [SWP], and *Workers Vanguard* of the Spartacist group.
> "Utterly degenerate both politically and morally, it may be said without exaggeration that these groups represent not so much a political tendency within the workers movement, as an out-and-out provocation against the entire working class.
> "Upon reading the articles on the Iranian Revolution in both of their newspapers, one cannot help but wonder aloud, 'In what police acade-

continued on page 11

Portrait of a Healyite as a Scab/Spy

At the May 6 SL picket of the Workers League (WL) slanderers in Oakland, two Healyite goons roamed about seeking confrontations. One of these thugs was a man already known to us, one "Tim Nichols."

Who is "Tim Nichols"? He says he dropped out from Princeton, one of the great universities for dumb bourgeois children, and that his father is a CIA intelligence officer. "Tim Nichols" claims the political history of a drifter: after allegedly participating in actions in defense of the Panthers in the 1970 New Left milieu, and in various SWP front groups in 1971, he is known to have joined the Healyite organization in 1972.

He was the WL's Oakland organizer in 1974, and claims to have left the WL during the Wohlforth purge. But the WL's San Jose organizer claims that "Nichols" was asked to resign in 1975 because he had committed racially provocative acts in the black community.

In 1977 "Tim Nichols" came around the Spartacist League intent on joining. But the SL did not take the bait. An SL member who was "Nichols'" roommate during the time they were both in the WL raised questions about him: "Nichols" had come straight from an SWP feminist front to join the anti-women's liberation WL; he was full of questions about international travel; he got a job in the carpenters union by threatening to scab if he was refused.

"Nichols'" subsequent conduct as a self-professed SL supporter certainly justified the suspicions about him—that he was irrational, possibly a cop, perhaps a WL penetration agent or maybe all three at once.

We drove "Tim Nichols" away from the SL after a reprehensible incident of crossing the class line, smacking of provocation. The facts are these. During the 1977 Handyman warehouse strike in Northern California, a picketer was brutally killed. The ILWU in response organized a boycott of Handyman. This boycott was in effect when, in August of 1977, in flagrant disregard of elementary labor solidarity, "Tim Nichols" patronized a Handyman establishment. Since "Nichols" was accompanying a member of the SL on a sale of our press at the time this atrocity took place, the question was strongly posed that "Nichols"—in addition to exposing his own "socialist" pretensions—might be attempting to associate our party with his scabbing.

The SL reacted swiftly. On 21 August 1977 the Berkeley/Oakland SL passed the following motion:

> "Whereas Tim N. acted with gross and cynical irresponsibility while on a sale in violating an organized boycott, thereby endangering the political reputation of the organization and its trade-union friends, and furthermore that he appears to be erratic and unstable as evidenced by several recent incidents and a perusal of his political history, therefore we do not consider Tim N. suitable for membership in the common movement...comrades are instructed to keep him at arms length from the organization."


WV Photo

"Tim Nichols"

Now "Tim Nichols" has surfaced as a prominent West Coast goon for the "security"-obsessed WL. This provocateur/scab has again found his proper home—if indeed he ever left it. Whoever was running the operation which sent this man up against the SL should take note: if you hope to penetrate the Spartacist League, such low-grade material can't fool our party. ■

We Will Not Forget This Betrayal!

Miller Buries Stearns Strike

The heroic miners of Stearns, Kentucky, on strike for nearly three years against the notorious Blue Diamond Coal Company, have fallen victim to one of the most despicable betrayals in years from their own union leaders. With the explicit approval of United Mine Workers (UMWA) president Arnold Miller, on May 3 a thoroughly rigged "election" supervised by the National Labor Relations Board was held behind the picket lines on company property. To no one's surprise, the 110 Blue Diamond scabs unanimously voted in the company "union," the Justus Employees Association (JEA), as their bargaining agent.

WV Photo

Stearns strikers rally, July 1977: They held out against scabs, gun thugs, cops, courts...and then Miller sold them down the river.

The strikers stood steadfast to the very end. They boycotted the sham vote in which only 60 UMWA strikers were declared eligible, although 122 of the 151 miners who voted to strike in July 1976 remained active in the struggle. Some 28 guards carrying shotguns and sidearms, the same gun thugs who have been herding the scabs, hovered over the polling area inside the Justus mine compound. Rather than take any part in this wretched farce—termed by the Miller bureaucracy "the best we can get"—the strikers courageously maintained their picket lines in defiance of the rigged vote.

The Stearns coal miners responded to the announcement of the sellout by shutting down ten mines in Kentucky and Tennessee on April 23 by sending squads of picketers. But with strike benefits cut off, and without any semblance of support from the International, there is little hope that the struggle can continue effectively. One militant complained bitterly to *WV* that "We can't get a Mine Workers attorney or anything down here to talk to us." The Stearns strike had become a symbol of the miners' resistance to the hired gun thugs, bloody cop attacks and kangaroo courts that rule in the coalfields. Class-conscious workers will not forget the vile treachery of the UMWA leadership which from the beginning refused to mobilize the union behind these militants.

Over the course of the bitter Stearns strike, the entire reformist left hailed the struggle without offering a strategy for victory. The fake socialists, who virtually without exception supported Miller in the 1972 UMWA elections, had no stomach to criticize the International's treachery in Stearns. Likewise they kept their mouths shut as Miller & Co. repeatedly sabotaged the 110-day national coal strike of 1977-1978.

Workers Vanguard was the first socialist newspaper to give national publicity to the heroic fight of the Stearns miners. In repeated articles we called for a break with Miller's defeatist policy, demanding militant union support like the five-day shutdown of all UMWA-organized coal mines which finally won the 13-month strike at nearby Brookside (Harlan County). Only by waging a determined struggle to replace the treacherous UMWA bureaucracy with a class-struggle leadership will miners be able to reverse defeats like Stearns and organize the non-union coalfields in the South and throughout the country. ■

Moscow Stalinists Cheer Khomeini's Witchhunt

As Muslim leader Ayatollah Khomeini moves to crush all opposition to his reactionary clerical dictatorship, one organization in Iran has distinguished itself as the most obsequious left-wing servant of the new regime. Virtually the entire Iranian left has given some degree of support to the mullahs in power, but the Moscow-loyal Tudeh ("Masses") party has spared no effort to prove that, in the words of first secretary Nureddin Kiyanuri, Khomeini's "progressive views stand in no contrast to the line of the Tudeh Party" (*New York Times*, 14 February).

Some Iranian "Marxist-Leninists" flinched from direct support for Khomeini's phony referendum on an "Islamic Republic". Not Tudeh—they actively campaigned for a "yes" vote for theocratic rule. Many leftists sympathize with or support the struggles of Iran's minority nationalities for autonomy or independence. Not Tudeh—Kiyanuri says they are "resolutely struggling against any form of separatism" (*Daily World*, 18 April). Tudeh eagerly spreads Khomeini's slanderous charges that agents of the deposed shah and the CIA are behind the uprisings of the oppressed Kurdish, Baluchi, Azerbaijani and Turkoman peoples.

Militants of the left-wing Fedayeen guerrillas as well as other leftists joined the protests of Iranian women against Khomeini's demand that they wear the head-to-toe *chador* (veil) of Shi'ite Islam. The U.S. Communist Party, however, spoke for their Iranian cothinkers when the *Daily World* (6 April) hailed Khomeini's views on women's rights as "egalitarian, humane and democratic."

Most despicably (and suicidally), the Tudeh party has lent its support to the anti-communist witchhunt being whipped up by the new regime. When Khomeini denounces Marxists as "satanic elements, worse than the shah" and threatens righteous repression against "disruptionists wearing the mask of 'leftists' but taking their orders from the U.S.," the Tudeh leaders scramble to prove that when it comes to "ultraleftism" they are more Islamic than the ayatollah. *Mardom* (*The People*), the Teheran organ of the Tudeh party, called on April 20 for "vigilance against the growing intrigues by counter-revolutionary forces", and no one doubts that the forces in question are not the crushed and demoralized servants of the ex-shah but the armed militants of the Fedayeen and other left-wing groups.

The Tudeh opportunists no doubt hope to save their own skins by abasing themselves before Khomeini and the mullahs. But the real reason for their disgusting apologies for the medieval-minded Islamic leaders is their Stalinist loyalty to the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. The Soviet bureaucrats seek at all times to preserve the stability of their privileged rule by diplomatic deals with their capitalist neighbors and imperialist enemies. Having established a cozy relationship with the regime of the shah, the Kremlin diplomats were fearful that the fiercely anti-communist and xenophobic Khomeini would prove to be a troublesome neighbor. Hence their eagerness to demonstrate that Khomeini need have no fear that the Soviet Union would inspire left-wing revolution in Iran. They have achieved some measure of success, apparently, because Ayatollah Shariatmadari of Qum, the second most powerful of the Shi'ite leaders, recently reassured Moscow that: "The Soviet people can be confident that the Islamic Republic of Iran will not be a source of concern or anxiety for them. In this difficult period for Iran, we value the USSR's moral support. Development of good relations with the Soviet Union has always been in Iran's interests" (*Daily World*, 21 April).

The "moral support" of the Kremlin for Khomeini and détente between Teheran and Moscow will not be enough to save the Tudeh party from Islamic repression, however. Since its founding in 1941 the Tudeh leaders, following the turns of Soviet policy, have (when possible) supported every government of Iran. As reformists seeking a place in the bourgeois regime, they were doubly committed to maintaining capitalist rule at home. Yet every government of Iran has moved to crush them. During World War II the Soviet/American/British alliance dictated that Tudeh support the government of the shah, who was installed by British imperialism. This did not stop the shah from banning the party in 1949 and killing hundreds of its supporters until his fall this year. During the rule of prime minister Mohammed Mossadeq in the early 1950s even after the Tudeh party gave its loyal support to this bourgeois-nationalist leader this did not prevent him from turning the army against mass demonstrations organized by Tudeh. Can there be any doubt that once Khomeini has succeeded in consolidating his rule and repressing the far left he will also move to smash Tudeh?

The Tudeh party's disgusting CIA-baiting of their left-wing opponents and of the movements of Iran's oppressed minorities is ironic when one stops to think who the *real* friends of the CIA in the region are. In Afghanistan, Iran's northeastern neighbor, the Soviet-backed regime in Kabul is faced with a rebellion led by right-wing Muslim nationalists. The most authoritative leader of the rebellion is a close political relative of Khomeini named Pir Syed Ahmed Gailami, who claims descent from the prophet Mohammed. His spokesman, Zia Nassery, is an American citizen (!) who lived in New York until a few months ago when he arrived in Pakistan to fight "forced Communism" in his native country. "Refugee" camps in neighboring Pakistan are no doubt crawling with CIA agents seeking to "destabilize" the Kabul government—and their interests are being served by the Islamic regime in Iran. The Afghani government charges that 4,000 Iranian soldiers crossed into Afghanistan to aid Muslim rebels who briefly seized control of the city of Herat and killed 40 Soviet citizens, some of whom were flayed alive. Whether or not this charge is true, it is a fact that Ayatollah Shariatmadari has been making repeated broadcasts on the Teheran state radio with statements of support for the Muslim guerrillas in Afghanistan.

Time and again the Stalinist parties have proved themselves to be, as Trotsky termed Stalin, gravediggers of revolutions. In this case, however, by betraying the workers and peasants of Iran the Tudeh Stalinists may be digging their own graves as well. ■

"Socialists" Back Age of Consent Laws

SWP Backs Sexual Puritanism

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which has made the slogans of bourgeois democracy its "maximum program" in class battles from Portugal to Peru, has recently shown that it will not defend elementary democratic rights when these conflict with its opportunist political appetites. The "consistent feminist" SWP's *Militant* has hailed the triumph of Khomeini as a "Victory in Iran" while the mullahs campaign to reimpose the veil, the symbol of woman as chattel. On a smaller scale, the SWP last month joined the reactionary crusade for repressive "age-of-consent" laws aimed at youth and homosexuals.

Discussing a February conference of Philadelphia gay liberationists, *Militant* reporters Rich Finkel and Matilde Zimmerman upheld age-of-consent laws as "historic acquisitions of the working class [which] should be enforced." The article described the conference's resolution for "Full rights for gay youth, including revision of age-of-consent laws" as "a reactionary demand... [whose] advocates are primarily adult men who believe they should be unrestricted in having sex with children" (*Militant*, 13 April).

With the same "save our children" pitch which was the watchword of Anita Bryant's anti-homosexual crusade, the SWP calls on the capitalist state's cops and courts to arbitrate and enforce the sexual morality of the bourgeois family. The *Militant*'s hurrahs for age-of-consent laws parallel a right-wing campaign to repeal a recently passed New Jersey statute lowering the state's age of consent from 16 to 13.

The reform, drafted by the New Jersey Coalition Against Rape and the Rape Task Force of the New Jersey National Organization for Women (NOW), was intended, according to NOW's Nancy Stultz, "to extend maximum protection to children who might be involved in consensual sex with someone their own age" (*New York Post*, 30 April). The measure defined all persons over 13 as old enough to consent to sex with anyone, and those under 13 as able to consent to sex with partners no more than four years older than they are.

The liberalized New Jersey law will probably be repealed by the same coalition of "concerned parents," right-wing religious bigots and Phyllis Schlafly-style Victorian moralizers who crusade against legalized abortion, the Equal Rights Amendment, sex education, contraception for teenagers and pornography. What unites these forces is a commitment to put the punitive powers of the capitalist state behind the institution of the nuclear family and its oppressive restrictions on the rights of women, young people and homosexuals. *Post* columnist Harriet Van Horne spoke for this reactionary cabal (and for the SWP?) when she argued in a 30 April article that "many feel that a drop in the age of consent is bound to result in the seduction of minors—male and female—by older persons of perverted or unwholesome character."

From Anita Bryant to California's Briggs, the puritanical crusade against gay rights has always been couched as a defense of "innocent children" against sexual abuse. Now the SWP joins the attack on democratic rights at its cutting edge: "Saying that children [i.e., those younger than 16 or so] have the 'right' to 'consent' to sex with adults is exactly like saying children should be able to 'consent' to work in a garment factory twelve hours a day." The equation of consensual sex with brutalizing child labor may say a lot about the authors' view of sex but it won't work as an explanation for why "socialists" should invite the bourgeois state into the nation's bedrooms.

To be sure, repressive capitalist society extends alienation and brutalization into every aspect of society, sexuality not least. But there is no reason to assume that a significant disparity in age between sexual partners is particularly likely to lead to sexual abuse; in any case, the *Militant*'s concern is explicitly not the possibility of abuse but the fact of sexual "deviance": "We don't want laws against child labor changed to simply outlaw vaguely defined 'abusive' child labor. Nor do we want 'non-abusive consensual' sex by adults with children OK'd." Those who advocate age-of-consent laws as a way to prevent the possibility of exploitative sexual manipulation are in the same camp as those who support the legal prosecution of prostitutes in the name of protecting women from degradation. The arena of the most widespread and brutal child abuse—including sexual molestation—is the home, the nuclear family. Yet the SWP, joining with the reactionary vigilantes who raise the spectre of balding homosexuals lurking around playgrounds, calls on the capitalist state to enforce the morality of the bourgeois family—in the name of fighting child abuse.

The *Militant* article does not so much as mention the New Jersey controversy. It is obvious why. It is easier to throw around labels like "reactionary" in the abstract than to admit that in the real world (where practitioners of "unnatural" sex are jailed and sexually precocious kids sent to reform schools) New Jersey NOW is "reactionary" and the right-to-lifers presumably are "democratic."

Conflict of Appetites

The SWP's defense of conventional sexual moralism must come as a shock to those who took seriously its years of uncritical enthusiasm over the petty-bourgeois lifestylist gay movement. Indeed, the *Militant* article caused some commotion among homosexual members of the SWP's Canadian sister organization, the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), who were attending the RWL national conference at the time the article appeared. Several gay RWLers, already deeply disgruntled with their organization's efforts to squelch their lifestylist politics, simply walked out of the RWL at or soon after the conference. But the SWP's rediscovery of puritanism comes as no surprise to those of us who remember that in the 1960s, prior to the eruption of "gay power" politics, the SWP's practice was to quietly drop from membership individuals discovered to be homosexuals.

The SWP's attempts to put a "working-class" face on its capitulation to backwardness (the *Militant* article calls for a "class-struggle road to winning gay rights" and features, in place of the once ubiquitous photos of petty-bourgeois "gay lib" demonstrations, pictures of miners) should fool nobody. It is the Spartacist League which has always insisted that democratic rights, including for homosexuals, can be defended and extended not by sectoralist "independent movements" but by united labor-centered struggle. Leftists in the gay milieu fought the reformist SWP's extreme sectoralism, and some like members of the Red Flag Union fused with the SL.

Why are the former "best builders" of the gay movement singing the same tune as the anti-homosexual bigots? The *Militant* explains: "What is certain is that the tainting of any action call with the 'cross-generational sex' issue will make it impossible for organizations like NOW, civil rights groups, trade unions, or socialists to endorse—and correctly so." The decline of the early 1970s gay liberation movement, along with the decline of separatist feminism and black nationalism, means that the positions developed by the SWP to cater to these movements are now simply impediments to drawing closer to the trade-union bureaucrats whom the SWP's "turn" to the unions is designed to impress.

A party which has accomodationism as its only principle will find that contradictions develop between its positions, reflecting the contradictory programs of the various objects of its political affections. Thus the SWP's feminism conflicted with its desire to kowtow to the anti-woman mullahs in Iran; its support for "preferential layoffs" in violation of union seniority systems finds little support among the union bureaucrats who are the SWP's newest hoped-for "constituency." When double-think alone can't suppress such contradictions, the SWP simply dumps the politics of its less important allies. In 1977 the SWP built the "Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights" together with gay lifestylist David Thorstad of the Gay Activists Alliance. Today Thorstad is labeled a "reactionary" in the pages of the *Militant* for calling for revision of age-of-consent legislation!

The SWP's new line was exposed by the Spartacist League at a New York City meeting on abortion rights sponsored by the SWP. After SWP spokesman Gail Shangle had attacked the state legislators for seeking to prevent teenage women from getting abortions, an SL member spoke from the floor:

> "It's admittedly pretty disgusting that Albany would want to stop teenagers from having abortions. What is interesting is that it seems that the SWP these days doesn't want teenagers to have sex at all! The *Militant*'s position reminds one of the Victorian era when women and children were supposed to have no sexuality whatsoever. The SWP says age-of-consent laws are a prevention of child abuse but in fact the laws are not used to prevent child abuse but are used mostly as victimization, like the victimization of Roman Polanski [the film director driven into exile for his affair with a 13-year-old girl].... Moreover, these laws are a real attempt by the bourgeois state to strengthen the nuclear family, which is the main vehicle for oppression of women in class society."

The position of revolutionary Marxists is one of opposition to any and all legal restrictions on effectively consensual sexuality. It is appropriate to recall *WV*'s statement on the Polanski case:

> "As communists we oppose attempts to fit human sexuality into legislated or decreed 'norms.' The guiding principle for sexual relations should be that of effective consent—that is, nothing more than mutual agreement and understanding as opposed to coercion. We hold that any and all consensual relations between individuals are purely their own concern, and the state has no business interfering."
>
> —"Stop the Witchhunt Against Roman Polanski!" *WV* No. 192, 10 February 1978

National Front...

(continued from page 3)

control gear"—horses, dogs, helicopters, riot shields and truncheons.

Hours before the first fascists arrived on the scene the police moved to break up the protests. With truncheons swinging they suddenly laid into the crowd, beating and arresting protesters indiscriminately, and unleashed a veritable police riot which ended with 340 demonstrators arrested, scores injured and one demonstrator, Blair Peach, dead on the pavement. According to several eyewitnesses, Peach, who was a member of the SWP, was clubbed to death by Special Patrol Groups police as he was attempting to leave the demonstration. And as the cop rampage continued outside, the few dozen fascists who had sneaked into the town hall meeting place held their race-hate rally.

The determination of the immigrant community to prevent the NF meeting from taking place is indeed heartening after months of pacifistic belly-crawling by the ANL. But if the fascists are really to be driven off the streets it is not enough to have 5,000 disorganised anti-fascists show up without any idea of how they plan to halt the NF. In these situations what invariably results is inconclusive brawls with well-armed trained cops determined to let the fascists speak. And as in Southall, these uniformed thugs are quite prepared to kill in order to get their way. The only thing that will stop the cops is a mass working-class mobilisation which makes it impossible for them to move in defence of the fascists. ■

Ross Kenv d

Spartacist League contingent fought off attack by National Front scum at London demonstration in July marking seventh anniversary of Bloody Sunday in Northern Ireland.

No-Nukes...

(continued from page 5)

maximize safety precautions, but it's concerned with one thing: its bottom line, its profits.

PBS: Well, in the short term, do you advocate safety measures, plant shutdowns or anything of that nature?

Stamberg: Well, we have a program for safety which we think can be carried out. We call for union control of safety conditions in the nuclear plants the same way we do for the coal mines. We call for nationalization of the nuclear industry under workers control. And we call for closing down unsafe nuclear plants like Three Mile Island in very much the same way we would call for closing down a coal mine that is unsafe. But we would no more call for pulling the plug on the atomic industry any more than we would call for shutting down the coal mines across the U.S. because there's been an accident in the mines.

Behind this is essentially a political question. As Marxists, we believe that a socialist society, a rational society is going to be built by utilizing the highest technological level of society and utilizing all of the productive forces that are available to mankind. We think you need more of things and not less. That's our basic position.

So you can talk about safety all you want, and we think it's important to discuss ways to minimize accidents. But that presupposes a rational society and not one that is based on profits.

PBS: Well, a lot of the people looking at the demonstrations think that basically it's a left-wing movement, radicals from the Vietnam era and so on, Jane Fonda on the board and all that kind of thing. You call yourself a socialist. Why aren't you joining the demonstrations?

Stamberg: Well, it's true that there are a lot of socialists in these demonstrations. That's because there are a lot of socialists who are willing to tail after anything that is popular no matter how reactionary it is. So these same people in Teheran right now are busy running after the mullahs even though the mullahs want to take the Iranian masses back to the 8th century. We are not in these demonstrations because we believe that the anti-nuclear movement is fundamentally, deeply conservative as well as deeply hypocritical. For instance, it's based on the belief that the life of a middle-class suburban housewife is more important than the hundreds of thousands of coal miners who in the last decade have gotten black lung disease and died in the mines. Every form of energy in this society is dangerous.

It's also deeply conservative. You look at these people like Jane Fonda, you look at the assorted clams and shads and abalones and the other people who are marching in these demonstrations, their fundamental program is "Stop the World, I Want to Get Off," right? It's middle-class despair that doesn't see any future except capitalism and therefore they want to turn back the clock on history.

It's a phenomenon that we saw last fall when I was campaigning for State Assembly in New York City. We had many arguments with the people who wanted to stop the Concorde from landing at JFK. And they had the same kind of hypocrisy. Because these people were not upset about the supersonic army fighter bombers that were flying overhead, but they wanted to stop the Concorde. And more than that, they also wanted to stop the construction of the Westway, the only major road to come into New York City. At that time we demanded "Land the Concorde on the Westway" which is something that really got their goat. We wanted to make a political point, that cities need roads and cities need planes and cities need power.

PBS: Do you think that the political issue of nuclear power will become a greater and greater public issue in the next elections?

Stamberg: Well, I think it's already of great importance. So, for instance, if you look at the speakers' platform at the demonstration, and from the people who built the demonstration, you see the growing participation of capitalist politicians in it. And there's a reason for this. These demonstrations have only called for an end to the commercial nuclear plants. They have not said a word about the government. And most important, they have not said a word about the question of nuclear weapons in the hands of the imperialists.

So people are worried about accidents. We have one thing to say and that is that Hiroshima was no accident. We think that nuclear weapons in the hands of the imperialists and directed ultimately against the Soviet Union are the greatest danger facing humanity today. That is the question. And by the way, that question will not be resolved through détente, and will not be through any type of disarmament schemes. We think that the question is fundamentally a class question, a question of what class will rule. And we stand with the working class against the capitalists, with the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states against imperialist attack.

PBS: Thank you very much.

Stamberg: You're welcome. ■

Iran...

(continued from page 1)

mullah-run Abadan komiteh had instigated the attack. Deputy Prime Minister Abbas Amin Entezam announced that the 41 were being held on suspicion of smuggling arms to the Turkomans. Some 500 members and supporters of the Fedayeen staged a three-day sit-in at the Ministry of Justice in Teheran. As the Fedayeen ended their protest on April 27, the Khomeiniites gathered to chant, "Down with the leftists! Death to the communists!"

But when on April 23 the Forghan Fighters assassinated General Vali Ullah Qarani in his own home, Qarani's funeral became not only a rallying point for the officer corps, but a right-wing mobilization directed against the entire left—not only the Fedayeen but the pro-Moscow Stalinist Tudeh party as well, which has given Khomeini servile support every step of the way. The hundreds of thousands of demonstrators supplemented their cries of "Death to the enemies of Islam!" with the more specific "Tudeh, Fedayeen: assassins!"

May Day in Khomeini's Teheran

The Islamic demagogues next attempted to upstage leftist-organized May Day celebrations by calling a rival rally at Teheran's Imam Hussein square. There Ayatollah Shariatmadari's Islamic Republican Party drew a crowd of 100,000 primarily composed of artisans and shopkeepers—the mullahs' traditional plebeian base. Once again the theme of the rally was "get the left." But this time the banners added the incredible slander that, "Marxists are the agents of the shah!"

According to *Le Monde* the two separate leftist gatherings held elsewhere in the city were roughly the same size as the mullah-run anti-May Day. The Tudeh party's march demonstrated its continuing strength among the industrial working class and the trade unions, but at the same time reaffirmed its complete capitulation to Khomeini, repeatedly emphasizing its support to the "Islamic Republic." The other leftist demonstration was a motley combination of women activists, the unemployed, the bourgeois nationalist National Democratic Front, various Maoist sects, the fake-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (HKS) and the Fedayeen. The common denominator of this march was a series of radical demands which would be raised by revolutionary Marxists as well: recognition of the right to strike, nationalization of foreign-controlled firms, the end of censorship in the mass media. But other demands raised at the May Day gathering, for example, that the workers should have a say in the editing of the constitution, demonstrate that the perspective of these Stalinists, social democrats, guerrillaists and liberals—whatever their subjective intentions—remains one of *pressuring* the very government that is organizing to butcher them.

That night the Forghan Fighters struck again, shooting down Ayatollah Morteza Motahari in a Teheran alley. Whereas they had denounced Qarani for plotting a pro-American coup, the terrorists denounced "akhoundism"—rule by the mullahs—and revealed that Motahari was a leading member of Khomeini's secret Revolutionary Council. The people of Iran, it seems, will learn who their rulers in this "republic" are only when they are assassinated in the street by equally shadowy underground groupings.

Speculation concerning the Forghan is rife. Motahari's brother was quick to announce, "The Forghan group are disruptors who want to bring Communism under the cover of Islam." Hundreds of thousands of people flocked to the funeral of this previously obscure ayatollah in the third mass outpouring of hysterical anti-communism. "I will kill, kill, kill those who killed my brothers," screamed the marchers, denouncing the left as "parasites on society."

Time Is Running Out for the Fedayeen

Three days after Motahari's funeral Khomeini made it clear how the "parasites" would be dealt with. Previously the plan had been to amalgamate the various militia units either into the national police force or the elite "Guardians of the Revolution." The commander of the national police force, Colonel Nasser Mojallali, announced that the police stations, uniforms, equipment and the men were being readied for a complete restoration of the police apparatus. Now it seems the "Guardians" will be responsible not to the provisional civilian government of Mehdi Bazargan but solely to Khomeini's Council. Their stated purpose is to "remove all foreigners and those who support foreigners"—"armed combat" against the enemies of the "Islamic Revolution." Behind it all is the threat to forcibly disarm the left—Khomeini's stated objective since he came to power in February—and leave them defenseless before the slaughter. As one militiaman put it, "We are awaiting orders from Ayatollah Khomeini. If he gives the order, we will put them in their proper place" (*Newsweek*, 14 May).

Khomeini's government has made many enemies in its few short months of existence: the women whom it has attempted to force back into the veil; the workers suffering from massive unemployment; the peasants whose seizures of the landlords' holdings the government opposes; and the national minorities, who have already been attacked with tanks and helicopter gunships as Khomeini seeks to maintain the "sacred national boundaries" with an armored fist. But none of the Iranian leftist organizations presents a clear program to rally these forces against Khomeini. They refuse to oppose the mullahs on the grounds that they represent an "anti-imperialist" force. Yet it is Khomeini who will do the CIA's dirty work by massacring them!

Facing the horrible possibility of another Indonesia 1965, the Fedayeen have only added a few more spotlights, sandbags and guards at their Teheran headquarters. One of their leaders told *Newsweek*, "If necessary, we will go underground as we did before. We do not want civil war. We want more time." But time is running out and the alternative to class war is their annihilation, unresisting, at the hands of Muslim reaction.

Only a program of proletarian independence can prevent another catastrophic defeat for the Iranian proletariat: For a united front of all left, working-class and secular-democratic forces for defense against Khomeini's Islamic sword! For workers militias based on factory committees and trade unions! Full democratic rights for women! For the right of self-determination for the national minorities! Land to the tiller! For a secular constituent assembly! For socialist revolution in Iran to establish an Iranian workers and Peasants government! For an Iranian Trotskyist party!

Tug Strike...

(continued from page 4)

capitulate to Koch's injunctions but has exempted military ships and refused to shut down the operations of all Local 333-manned vessels, including sludge boats, tour boats and ferries. Militants were also angered by the union leadership's refusal to dispense strike benefits as well as by O'Hare's changing of the traditional winter contract expiration date when the oil companies are far more vulnerable.

Rather than forcing the militant but isolated NY harbor tug workers to bear the brunt of the battle alone, a class-struggle union leadership would seek to counter Koch/Carter's strikebreaking by mobilizing tug workers throughout the Eastern seaboard, along with appeals for real solidarity from other maritime unions. But Local 333, the largest and *most effective tug union, has seen its* organizing efforts founder. A major contributing factor has been the narrow and destructive racial policies of the union, which in NY harbor has only a handful of blacks and Puerto Ricans in its membership, mainly employed as cooks. This makes NY Local 333 an easy target for non-union companies, many of whom employ blacks in the South.

At the same time, jurisdictional disputes and raids among the dozen or so maritime unions representing harbor workers on the Eastern seaboard have undermined labor unity. During the strike one of the other unions that represents tugboat crews, the Seafarers International Union (SIU), has been running boats owned by Interstate, which pays rates below those of Local 333, into New York. Further, both the SIU and the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association have charged Local 333, *in the midst of a strike*, with violating article 20 of the AFL-CIO constitution concerning jurisdictional raids!

In contrast to this sordid squabbling that only plays into the hands of the boatowners, the Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the National Maritime Union (NMU) demanded that its union come to the aid of the beleaguered tugboatmen. The Caucus' April 26 *Beacon*, noting that merchant seamen face the same anti-labor wage controls and runaway shipping as Local 333, demanded that the NMU cease permitting its shore gangs to assist in ship docking operations, called on the union to reinforce Local 333 picket lines and demanded "a one-day protest strike by the NMU, SIU, longshoremen (ILA), and all other maritime workers in the New York/New Jersey harbor area against the anti-labor, union-busting injunctions imposed on the tug and barge workers." Such urgently needed maritime labor solidarity is the most effective way to defend the tug strike. ■

Rhodesia...

(continued from page 12)

fact. Margaret Thatcher, playing the growing racist backlash in England into votes, made no secret of her support for the white supremacist regime. And Smith well remembers the ostentatious welcome he received from right-wing Republican senators during his U.S. tour last summer. Before the elections had ended Smith and Muzorewa happily announced a military and economic assistance pact with South Africa in order to increase pressure on Carter to recognize the Muzorewa government.

Conservative neanderthals in the U.S. Congress have been doing their bit. Two Congressional efforts calling upon Carter to recognize Muzorewa and end sanctions have been launched. Carter has been trying to maintain the official U.S. position which looks to a settlement including the Patriotic Front. But in the face of the pro-Smith lobby he first termed the elections "a step in the right direction," then dispatched Cyrus Vance to Capitol Hill to plead for more time to study the "fairness" of the fraud.

More important, Andrew Young, Carter's very own black front-man, has been unusually subdued. Where in the past he had labeled the elections "illegal" and had loudly denounced the "internal settlement," Young now states "any side you get on is a no-win situation. The President's position is basically to remain neutral and that's my position." When the U.N. Security Council voted on April 30 to condemn the elections and maintain sanctions, Young abstained, as did England and France.

Sipa

Massacre in Mozambique: Rhodesian troops slaughter 10,000 a year.

But Carter knows that support to Smith during his death agony is not in the best interests of U.S. imperialism. It does Carter's "human rights" campaign no good to land foursquare in the same camp as Smith, South Africa's Botha and now Muzorewa. Racist Rhodesia, whose 4 percent white populace is shrinking fast, is doomed. Even apartheid South Africa, despite its bombastic offer to establish a white-rule defense perimeter on Rhodesia's northern border, is reluctant to risk its far more stable regime to try to save Smith's untenable position.

Moreover, Carter knows, even if some Tories do not, that both Mugabe and Nkomo are willing to horse-trade in return for a Washington-brokered deal that would install them in power. Tough talk is cheap, a hallmark of every petty-bourgeois African nationalist aspiring to state power. Both Mugabe, a practicing Roman Catholic, and Nkomo, bankrolled by Rhodesian millionaire "Tiny" Rowland, are of this ilk and have clearly indicated their willingness to deal with U.S. imperialism. The problem that worries Carter is that if he lifts sanctions and comes out in support of Smith's puppet government, it may drive ZAPU and ZANU into a military alliance with Cuban troops and the degenerated Soviet workers state.

The "Zimbabwe-Rhodesia" of Smith and his paid preacher Muzorewa remains a remnant of British colonialism, an affront to the international working class and the brutally oppressed black masses of southern Africa. Blood-stained white minority rule, in all its forms, must be defeated. Military victory to ZANU and ZAPU!

But Trotskyists also forewarn that the Nkomos and Mugabes will, on the morrow of their victory, prove as implacable *class* enemies of Rhodesian workers and peasants as their predecessor white masters and black puppets in power. Only a Zimbabwe workers and peasants government, part of a socialist federation of southern Africa, will bring an end to the misery of class exploitation. ■

WL Pimps...

(continued from page 7)

> mies did these writers complete their educations?"...
> "If the antics of the Spartacist were directly orchestrated by the FBI and CIA, they could not be more provocative. And, in fact, there is every reason to believe that they are....
> "[SL national chairman] James Robertson, an unmitigated degenerate...."

These vile slanders are intended to provide a "political" cover for physical gangsterism against the SL, befitting the Qaddafi henchmen who applauded the Iraqi colonels' execution of Communist militants and who now endorse Khomeini's butchery of Kurdish nationalists in the name of preserving the territorial integrity of "Iran, Iraq and Syria, all centers of anti-imperialist revolutionary activity." These tools of the capitalist Arab dictators—the worst enemies of the Arab working masses—will stop at nothing to still the voice of authentic Trotskyism.

Lynn Marcus, Gerry Healy—Brothers Under the Skin

Of course, cop-baiting is nothing new for the Healyites, who slandered the SL as "the fingerman for the world capitalist class" as early as 1966. But the *Bulletin* article represents the full flowering of Healyite paranoia to an extent reminiscent of ex-"leftist" cultist Lynn Marcus:

> "[The SL] is a small sect that was set up by the late Joseph Hansen, the proven FBI agent who for many years ran the Socialist Workers Party, for the specific purpose of organizing provocations against the International Committee of the Fourth International and, in the United States, against the Workers League.
>
> "The activities of Spartacist are intimately bound up with the massive infiltration of the SWP by FBI agents. For many years, Hansen and other FBI agents within the top leadership of the SWP used Spartacist to carry out those sordid political operations with which they preferred not to be associated publicly.
>
> "It must also be said, that if the Spartacists did not exist, the Stalinists of the Communist Party would have had to invent them. Indeed, because of the history of the infiltration of the revisionist movements by the Soviet secret police as well as the FBI, it is not unlikely that the Stalinists did have a hand in the birth of this diseased organization...."

The present slanders thus carry forward the scurrilous campaign to smear Hansen as an "accomplice" of the Stalinist secret police in the 1940 assassination of Leon Trotsky. This slander campaign, ludicrously dubbed "Security and the Fourth International," has constituted the WL/IC's main activity for four years. The SL replied to these provocations with demonstrations demanding "Who Gave Healy His Security Clearance?"

To support this grotesque paranoid schema, the *Bulletin* must now create the SWP's Iran line out of whole cloth. As everyone knows, the SWP has enthused over Khomeini's reactionary clericalist regime in Iran with only the most perfunctory finger-wagging when the mullahs sought to reimpose the veil and suppress the national minorities. Only the WL/IC can justly claim to be more vulgarly nationalist, more slavishly pro-Khomeini, more programmatically reactionary than the reformist SWP.

And no wonder. The SWP's pro-mullah capitulation represents mere opportunism; that of the WL/IC is dictated by its sinister ties to Qaddafi. Like the Stalinists whose political line is an apology for the foreign policies of the Sino-Soviet bureaucracies, the WL/IC takes its cues from the Libyan government—with one significant difference: the regimes the Stalinists seek to defend through suicidal "peaceful coexistence" are deformed workers states; the Healyite homeland is a theocratic, militarist, capitalist dictatorship.

The Shoe Fits You, Gerry!

The May 6 SL protest demonstrations reaffirmed the SL's commitment to defend tendencies workers democracy for all in the workers movement, not only the SWP and the Stalinists but also ourselves. The chants and slogans included:

- What Keeps Billy Carter Out of the Workers League?
- WL Cheers as Iraqi Ba'athists Murder Communists
- Khomeini Attacks 'Satanic Marxism'—WL Hails Khomeini
- Lynn Marcus and Gerry Healy: Brothers Under the Skin?
- Healyites: From Political Bandits on the Left to Pimps for Qaddafi
- Gangsterism and Slander—Hallmark of Provocateurs
- For the Rebirth of the Fourth International!

At both demonstrations the picketers far outnumbered the WL supporters and easily rebuffed the WL's attempts to provoke violence.

The WL/IC cop-baiting succeeds only in demonstrating how well the shoe fits *them*. Organizationally, their "method" of gangsterism and slander has long since been an open invitation to provocateurs. Politically, they sold their soul to the bourgeois "Arab Revolution" so many years ago that when it came time to auction off the stinking body, only the wretched Qaddafi was bidding. It seems likely that the present *Bulletin* attack was "made in U.S.A." (or in London) rather than in the Libyan embassy, but it's getting harder and harder to tell. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Ian Smith Holds Gun-Point Election

The "New" Rhodesia: White Supremacy in Blackface

In a desperate last effort to save his bloodsoaked white-supremacist regime, Rhodesia's Ian Smith lined up his black puppets on April 16 and pulled the strings, staging an electoral farce for the benefit of British and U.S. imperialism. When the curtain fell on April 21, Bishop Abel T. Muzorewa and his United African National Council (UANC) received two thirds of the vote total. Muzorewa thus became prime minister-designate of "Zimbabwe-Rhodesia," but the impoverished and brutalized Rhodesian blacks who voted for him did so with a battery of guns pointed at their heads. Revolutionaries denounce this fraudulent "election"—which is nothing but an attempt to mask white settler rule with black faces.

Smith left nothing to chance. Since brutal terror had not cracked widespread support for the black guerrillas of Robert Mugabe's Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and Joshua Nkomo's Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU), Smith conducted his "free" elections under martial law. One hundred thousand troops were mobilized to herd voters to the polls at gunpoint. Significantly, many of these were armed "auxiliaries," hired gunmen of Muzorewa, tribal chief Jeremiah Chirau and Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole. Campaigning by the rival figureheads was thus reduced to mutual thug assaults and endless rounds of intimidation. White employers threatened to fire their black workers who refused to vote.

When all else failed the Rhodesian police and army took charge. In the cities ZAPU supporters were arrested for attempting to organize an election boycott. Five hundred black students at the University of Rhodesia were tossed in jail after starting a protest march against the fraud. And in the bush regions, power base for ZAPU and ZANU's coalition Patriotic Front, "voters" were rounded up and herded to the polls in army trucks. A woman at one polling place explained, "We were told by the police that we had to come here and we didn't argue. We just came" (*Time*, 30 April).

With this shotgun election Smith may well be playing his last trump. His effort to curry imperialist support for the minority regime failed utterly last fall when both Washington and London rejected his "internal settlement" out of hand. Meanwhile, the minuscule power base upon which Rhodesia's white settler caste rests continues to erode. The once all-white Rhodesian Security Forces have been reduced to an all-white officer corps and several elite regiments composed of black inductees as the armed forces have expanded to meet stepped-up bush warfare with ZAPU and ZANU. Even so, most estimates place more than two thirds of the territory outside the urban areas under exclusive Patriotic Front control. So much has the self-confidence of Rhodesia's white populace been sapped that the daily flight from the country of "gentlemen farmers" and professionals, once haughtily referred to as the "chicken run," has now been renamed the "owl run," for obvious reasons.

Fraud and Terror

Desperate for any measure that will forestall his inevitable demise, Smith determined to proceed with elections in the hope that a carefully staged show of support for his hand-picked black figureheads would mobilize the right-wing imperialist bourgeoisie in his support. From the start of the five-day polling period, Smith and Muzorewa jointly embarked on a propaganda campaign to sell the "internal settlement" as the road to peace. Living up to his well-earned reputation for mouthing idiocies, Muzorewa bubbled, "What I saw today was that people seemed intoxicated with joy, that after 88 years the family of people in Rhodesia have ended their family quarrel" (*New York Times*, 17 April).

Election propaganda from all the permitted black "parties" stressed that voting itself would end the war; that the

Peter Jordan/Time

Bishop Muzorewa: Smith's man in Salisbury.

installation of Muzorewa, Sithole or Chirau would mean the end of raids by marauding Rhodesian troops who kill, by conservative estimates, over 10,000 blacks each year. A bevy of hand-picked "international observers" were brought in to sell the results. Consisting largely of Americans from the CIA-connected "Freedom House" (led by George Meany's social-democratic black mouthpiece Bayard Rustin) and British members of the House of Lords, the observers had a pleasant time sipping drinks in posh Salisbury cocktail lounges and pronouncing democratic blessings on the election. The Earl of Onslow cheerily noted, "There are more earls in Rhodesia right now than were present at the coronation of William the Conqueror" (*Newsweek*, 30 April).

The results were just what Smith ordered: "63.9 percent" of the eligible voters had been marched to the polls, and Muzorewa's UANC received 51 of the 72 parliament seats reserved for "Africans." The remaining 28 seats were reserved for white voters who unanimously returned Smith's Rhodesian Front to power. Since any legislation that would threaten Rhodesia's white-owned economy or attempt to change the make-up of the constitutionally stipulated majority white officer corps, judiciary and state bureaucracy requires a three-fourths majority, Smith retains a virtual veto power to guarantee continued white rule. Before the election had ended, he renounced his promise to retire from politics and nominated himself for minister of defense or of the interior.

But Smith's carefully orchestrated effort ran into some problems. For one thing, Sithole, incensed at having to play second fiddle to Muzorewa, decided to blow the whistle, suddenly discovering "gross irregularities" in the election after unofficial totals showed Muzorewa strongly sweeping the vote. While Smith tried to ride out the ensuing furor by yelling "sour grapes," Sithole pointed to results from two Mashonaland provinces, representing the great majority of black voters, which showed returns of 108.1 and 100.8 percent of those eligible to vote!

A second problem arose when one of the "observers" forgot his script. British Lord Chitnis, having observed only a troop-coerced turnout, stated simply, "The one factor that should not be taken into account is that this was a fair and free election. It wasn't. It was a fraud" (*Newsweek*, 7 May).

Tories and Right-Wing Senators to the Rescue?

But conservative politicians in the U.S. and Britain have not forgotten their script, demanding after the "election" farce that "democratic" Rhodesia be accepted as a full member of the Western "club." When the British Labour government fell, Smith quickly advanced the date of the Rhodesian elections so as to present the anticipated Tory government with an accomplished

continued on page 11

Steber/Sipa

Muzorewa and "his" officer corps: "Majority rule" Rhodesian style.